

TERMS.—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.  
If five copies will be sent to one address for the year, the price will be made in advance.  
All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be addressed (post paid) to the General Agent.  
Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.  
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper: Wm. Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Edward Jackson, and William L. Garrison, Jr.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXII. NO. 24.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1862.

WHOLE NO. 1642.

## Selections.

### REBEL BARBARITIES.

In the Senate of the United States, May 1, 1862, Mr. WADE introduced the following

REPORT:

The Joint Committee on the conduct of the present war beg

On the first day of April the Senate of the United States adopted the following resolution which was referred to the committee on the conduct of the war:

Resolved, That the select committee on the conduct of the war be directed to collect the evidence with regard to the barbarous treatment by the rebels of the remains of officers and soldiers of the United States killed in battle there, and that the select committee also inquire into the fact whether the Indian savages have been employed by the rebels in their military service, against the government of the United States, and how such warfare has been conducted by said savages.

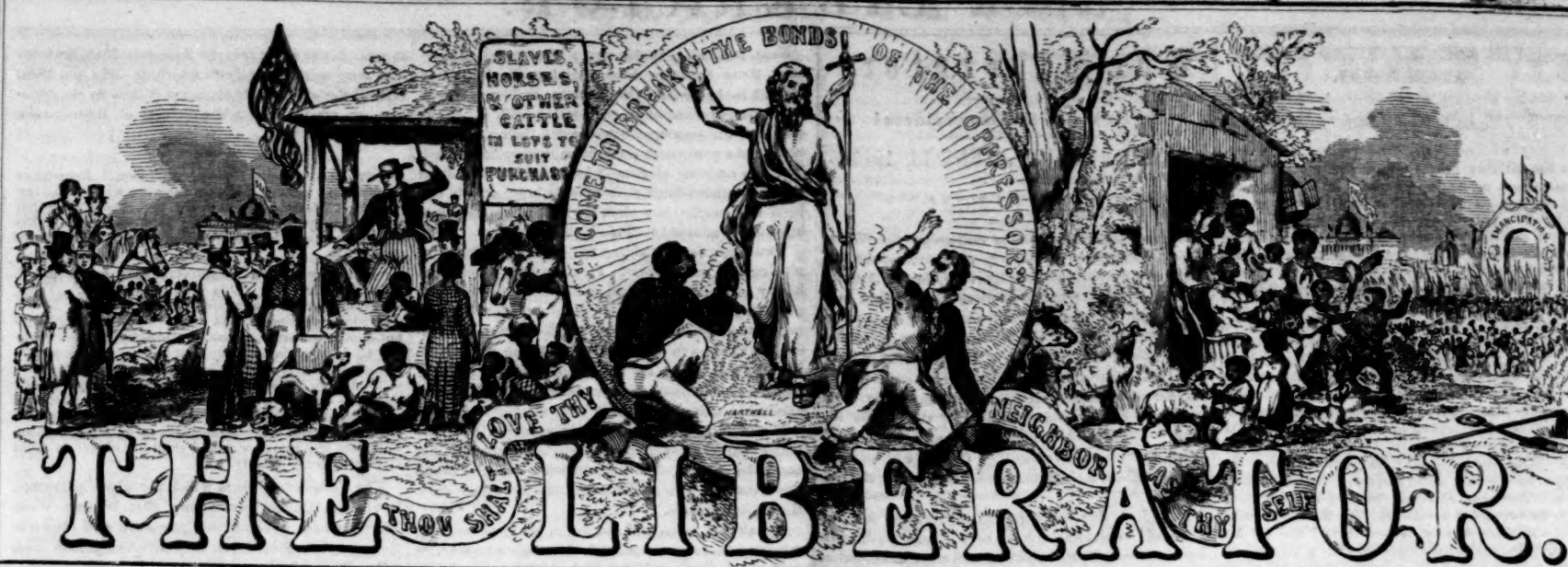
In pursuance of the instructions contained in this resolution, your committee have the honor to report that they examined a number of witnesses, whose testimony is herewith submitted.

Mr. Nathaniel F. Parker, who was captured at Falling Waters, Virginia, testified that he was kept in close confinement, denied exercise, and, with a number of others, held in a room; that their food was generally scant, was always bad, and sometimes poisonous; that the wounded had neither medical attention nor humane treatment, and that many of these latter died from sheer neglect; that five of the prisoners were shot by the sentries outside, and that he saw one man, Tibbitts, of the New York 27th, who died when he was passing his window on the 12th of November, and that he died of the wound on the 12th. The perpetrator of this foul murder was subsequently promoted by the rebel government.

Dr. J. M. Homiston, surgeon of the 14th New York, or Brooklyn regiment, captured at Bull Run, testified that when he was passing his window on the 12th of November, and that he died of the wound on the 12th. The perpetrator of this foul murder was subsequently promoted by the rebel government.

General Ricketts, in reference to his having been held as one of the hostages for the privateers, states: "I considered it bad treatment to be selected as a hostage for a privateer, when I was so lame that I could not walk, and while my wounds were still open and unhealed. At this time General Winder came to see me. He had been an officer in my regiment; I had known him for twenty years. It was on the 9th of November that he came to see me. He said that my wounds were still unhealed; he saw my condition; but that very day he received a letter from me, and he knew my condition, the next day, Sunday, the 10th of November, I was selected as one of the hostages. 'I heard,' he continues, 'of a great many of our prisoners who had been bayoneted and shot. I saw three of them—two that had been bayoneted and one of them shot. One was named Louis Francis, of the New York 14th. He had received fourteen bayonet wounds—one through his private; and he had one wound very much like mine, on the knee, in consequence of which his leg was amputated after twelve weeks had passed; and when it was determined to amputate his leg, I heard Dr. Peachy the rebel surgeon remark to one of his young assistants, 'I won't be greedy; you may do it,' and the young man did it. I saw a number in my room, many of whom had been badly amputated. The flaps over the stump were torn too tight, and in some the bones protruded. A man by the name of Prescott (the same referred to in the testimony of Surgeon Homiston) was amputated twice, and was then, I think, removed to Richmond before the taps were healed—Prescott died under this treatment. I heard a rebel doctor on the 4th of May, when he was a prisoner, and had nothing to say. On our way to Richmond, when we reached Gordonsville, many women crowded around the cars, and asked my wife if she cooked? if she washed? how she got there? Finally Mrs. Ricketts appealed to the officer in charge, and told him that it was not the intention that we should be subjected to this treatment, and if it was continued, she would make it known to the authorities. General Johnson took my wife's carriage and horses at Manassas, kept them, and has them yet for aught I know. When I got to Richmond I spoke to several gentlemen about this, and so did Mrs. Ricketts. They said, of course, their carriage and horses should be returned, but they never were. 'There is one debt,' says this gallant soldier, 'that I desire very much to pay, and nothing troubles me so much now as the fact that my wounds prevent me from entering upon active service at once.'

The case of Lewis Francis, who was terribly wounded and maimed, and lost a leg, is referred to by General Ricketts; but the testimony of Francis himself is startling. He was a private in the New York 11th regiment. He says: "I was attacked by two rebel soldiers, and wounded in the right knee with the bayonet. As I lay on the sod, they kept bayonetting me until I received fourteen wounds. One then left me, the other remaining over me, when a Union soldier coming up shot him in the breast, and he fell dead. I lay on the ground until 10 o'clock next day. I was then removed in a wagon to a building, my wounds examined and partially dressed. On the Saturday following, we were carried to Manassas, and from there to the general



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"They lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, military, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the seizure of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and WARMEASURES TAKE THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are engaged in actual array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

### THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.



## EMANCIPATION.

The Boston Post says they should like to see this question fairly presented, and have those in favor of continuing the war for emancipation take one side, and those who would continue it only to preserve the Constitution and restore the Union the other. The Post evidently feels, as every man who watches the signs of the times must, that the emancipation party is every day increasing. If men were called upon to say whether they would continue the war for emancipation, the majority would say no; but very many say—"This is not a war caused by us. We have been forced into the field; let us now cut up the root of the matter and secure the country against future disturbance." Put the question in the form the Post does, and those who sympathize with the Post, and would have the government restored to the Union saved, and the Constitution preserved, without regard to slavery, might have the majority; but put it in another form, and inquire how many there are who would restore the Union, preserving the equality of the States under the Constitution, and the equality of the people under the laws of the United States—so that South Carolina should be equal to Massachusetts—in other words, to return us all to the exact condition we held previous to November last—slavery remaining as it was—and we should find that a great change in public sentiment had taken place. This locality is the most conservative of any section of Massachusetts, and we see how it is here. The men who a year ago talked of compromise would scorn it to-day; and those who talked of the rights of States demand that the rebellion shall be swept away; if we are forced to subjugate the whole country and hold it by a standing army, we must have no compromise with the traitors, and increased hostility to the traitors, and increased hostility to their institutions and state of society. And this goes on from day to day, and all human appearances its volume and force are destined to increase. We state this as a simple fact, without designing to offer a single comment thereon. A year ago, if Mr. Lincoln had proposed emancipation, it would have bred rebellion in the North; to-day, if he should declare it, one-half at least would hail it gladly, and let the war go on till next November, and upon our souls we believe a declaration of emancipation to all slaves in the country would be hailed by the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, and bonfires on all the hills, as the anniversary of national independence is greeted.

We have declared over and over again our own opinions on this matter; but it is of no use to blind ourselves and fool ourselves upon the present state of public sentiment and the feeling that this war does and will generate. The safety of the South will fall and perish, and the declaration of the South in peace and law, on resorting to war and revolution it lays itself open to ten thousand assaults. What the future will bring forth, no one can say with any degree of positiveness; but taking the facts as they are, we look forward to confiscation of property, emancipation of slaves, and the declaration of the South, as the almost inevitable consequences of the course of present events. The only thing that can stay the tide is an uprising of the Union men of the South to bring the war to a speedy termination. As yet they have not appeared; and if they do not, the immediate end of the war cannot be expected, nor the consequences forestalled. Every day of war renders the restoration of the old order of things more difficult; and it may even become impossible before many weeks shall pass.

## GOV. STANLEY'S INSTRUCTIONS.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1862.

The instructions given to the Hon. Edward Stanley, Military Governor of North Carolina, are identical with those furnished to Hon. Andrew Johnson. The following is a copy of the letter of instructions:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 2, 1862.

SIR,—The commission you have received expresses on its face the nature and extent of the duties and power devolved on you by the appointment of Military Governor of North Carolina.

Instructions are given to Major-General Burnside to aid you in the performance of your duties and the exercise of your authority. He has also been instructed to detail an adequate military force for the special purpose of a Governor's Guard, and to act under your direction. It is obvious to you that the great purpose of your appointment is to reestablish the authority of the Federal Government in the State of North Carolina, and to provide the means of maintaining peace and security to the loyal inhabitants of that State until they shall be able to establish a civil government.

Upon your wisdom and energetic action much will depend in accomplishing that result. It is not deemed necessary to give any specific instructions, but rather to confide in your sound discretion to adopt such measures as circumstances may demand. You may rely upon the perfect confidence of the President of this Department in the performance of your duties. With respect, I am your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON, Sec'y of War.

Hon. Edward Stanley, Military Governor of North Carolina.

Gov. Stanley's commission invests him with the powers, duties and functions pertaining to the office of Military Governor, including the power to establish all necessary offices and tribunals, and suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* during the pleasure of the President, or until the loyal inhabitants of North Carolina shall organize a civil Government in accordance with the Constitution of the United States. The letters from the President in the New York papers which reached Washington to-night, created great wrath in the minds of leading men. Senators who read them before the adjournment, were so indignant that they talked of laying aside the tax bill to consider the case of this pro-slavery despot.

Resolutions of inquiry will be introduced in both Houses to-morrow. Mr. Sumner, when introducing the resolution of inquiry into Gov. Stanley's order, closing the colored schools on Monday, made the following remarks, now first published, a portion of which apply to Gov. Stanley's general action:

"If any person, in the name of the United States, has undertaken to close a school for little children, whether black or white, I should like to know who we should know the authority under which he has assumed to act. Surely nobody here will be willing to take the responsibility for such an act."

It is difficult to conceive that one of the first fruits of National victories, and the reestablishment of National power, should be such an enormity, which it is difficult to characterize in any terms of moderation.

Jefferson tells us, that, in a certain context, there is no attribute of the Almighty which would not be against us. And permit me to say, that, if in the war in which we are now unhappily engaged, the military power of the United States is to be employed in closing schools, there is no attribute of the Almighty which would not be against us, nor can we expect any true success.

Sir, in the name of the Constitution, of humanity and of common sense, I protest against such an impious under the sanction of the United States. The proper rule of conduct is simple. It will be found in the instructions to which I referred in debate the other day, from the British Commissioner in a conquered province of India.

After indicating certain crimes which were to be treated with summary punishment, he proceeded to say:—

"All other crimes you will investigate according to the forms of justice usual in this country, modified as you may think expedient; in all cases, you will endeavor to enforce the existing laws and customs, unless where they are clearly repugnant to reason and equity."—[See *Elphinstone vs. Pedraza*, 1 *Knapp's Privy Council*, rep. 337.]

Here is the proper limitation. Anything else is unworthy of a civilized country. Whatever is clearly repugnant to reason and equity, must be rejected. Surely such a thing cannot be enforced. But what can be more clearly repugnant to reason and equity than the barbarous law which an officer in the name of the United States has threatened to enforce!

Friends of Gov. Stanley here describe him as a very proud, headstrong man, and say that when he receives the letter revoking his order, he will undoubtedly resign.—N. Y. Tribune.

## MR. COLYER AND THE NEGRO SCHOOLS AT NEWBURN.

On Sunday evening, at St. George's Chapel, Mr. Vincent Colyer gave an account of the colored (evening) schools in Newburn, recently closed by Gov. Stanley, with many other interesting statements. When the Military Governor arrived, it became Mr. Colyer's duty, as Superintendent of the Poor, to call upon him. The Governor said there was one thing he did not approve of—the establishment of the negro schools. He said the laws of the State made it a criminal offence, and that his instructions from Washington were to administer the old laws so far as it was possible. Mr. Colyer particularly noted this language, as he had previously been told that Gov. Stanley's instructions were very indefinite. If called upon, the Governor said he would decide against him. Mr. Colyer had opened the schools under the sanction of Brig. Gen. Foster, and of course he conferred with that official, and that night announced to the public that the schools would be closed. The next day—four days after the arrival of Gov. Stanley—came the rendition of fugitive slaves. The Governor said he gave authority for the man to take the slave who he found him. This man had never taken the oath of allegiance, although he promised to do so. He had also been served with Government rations three times by Mr. Colyer. He took his slave—a girl nearly white. There was immediately a great state of alarm through the whole colored community. That night two of the colored scouts came in. They had been gone for a week or more through the marshes, through the pickets of rebel regiments, without blankets, without food, except such as they could get by chance; with nothing, in fact, but a few shillings and a good revolver in their breast, furnished them by Government. They were full of information that they had risked their lives to destroy, and it was hard to tell them now that they could not claim protection. Twenty feet that night. The instant of self-preservation told them that they could only go back as soon as possible to those who would afford them the same kind of protection. The next morning the General, upon reflection on the effect of this sending out men who knew everything about the strength and position of his forces, decided that he would be guided by that act of *self-preservation* and that he would *turn a fugitive slave*. [Applause.] That night some soldiers went to Master Bray's house and captured the slave. Not five minutes before Mr. Colyer left, he saw this same Bray prowling round for the "chattel." A number of instances were related where the blacks had been of great service to the army. In one case 100 soldiers went in a vessel under the entire guidance of a negro, and 200 barrels of cotton were found piled up in the woods, covered with brush. All that could be taken on board was carried away.

Dr. Tyng confirmed what he said in regard to the discovery of War, as he had been told in a manner that he would not sustain nor be belonged to a Government that would sustain such a course.—New York Tribune.

## THE NORTH CAROLINA EXPERIMENT.

We should do justice both to our feelings and our consciences. If we did not participate in the course of Governor Stanley of North Carolina as at least a great blunder. He has undertaken to return fugitives in a way violative of an express act of Congress. He has summarily closed schools for the instruction of colored persons. And he has expelled a citizen and exercised other arbitrary acts, which he seems to have no other authority than his own will. It is true, he is said to rest his authority on the local laws of North Carolina. But if that were his sole guide, the first thing he would do would be to abandon his own office, for the laws of North Carolina know nothing of a "military governor," and their strict enforcement would exclude him from the State.

The truth is, Gov. Stanley is appointed to an extraordinary office for the general purpose, as expressed in his letter of instructions—"to re-establish the authority of the national government in the State of North Carolina, and to provide the means of maintaining peace and security to the loyal inhabitants of that State until they shall be able to establish a civil government." Hence, with the material of the State laws and the Constitution and United States laws about him, and the great exigencies of the crisis, his sound discretion, and the main guide of his conduct. And that must embrace considerations altogether wider than the local law. By these considerations this unfortunate opening of his course must be judged. But it should be remembered that Governor Stanley derives his authority from the President, and that the whole subject of the exercise of his office, therefore, is safe hands.

We trust, then, that there will be no undue excitement about this matter. It will come out all right in the end. We think it as the President has had anything to do with it, dictated by his desire to make a constitutional Union of the United States. He did not, of course, foresee these acts of Governor Stanley, but he was animated by the motive we mention to select such a man as he believed Mr. Stanley to be, and to clothe him with almost unlimited powers. And so Mr. Stanley comes up from California, doubtless believing that the major part of his neighbors of the "Old North State" are for the Union at heart, and if he can only get at them, will finally rally around him and redeem the State. Hence he would disarm the prejudices of the planters and gain their confidence by a prompt carrying out of the local law. We give this interpretation of Gov. Stanley's course, to save his character, as it was formerly understood by the country, and to prevent the President from making the mistake.

It is needless to say that he made a terrible mistake. His absence in California had prevented him from understanding the true character of this rebellion, and from seeing how utterly any pro-slavery policy would be thrown away upon the rebels. Nor could he appreciate that feeling which the experience of the war has drilled into the soldiers and the people of the North. But the whole question is now in the hands of the President. Gen. Burnside and his noble army should have the sympathy of the loyal people of North Carolina, and the ignorant policy which Gov. Stanley's course subjects to, but they have no alternative but obedience. The letter of instruction to Gov. Stanley says:—"Instructions have been given to Major-General Burnside to aid you in the performance of your duties and the exercise of your authority." We trust that there will be no resignations and no open resistance. The present state of things must be of short duration. Even Gov. Stanley may have discovered his mistake by this time. If not, the President will soon have had enough of this experiment, which, if it has failed in the purposes for which it was instituted, has certainly succeeded in demonstrating the utter resolution of our people and army to sanction no more truckling to the slave power, and not to relieve it from the ruin it has so plainly brought upon itself.—Boston Journal.

## OFFICIAL BLUNDERS.

Edward Stanley, the newly appointed Military Governor of North Carolina, when a whip reelected in Congress from that State, was reckoned a man of more than ordinary character and intelligence, but his long residence in California, or some other cause, has rendered him singularly oblivious to the change in the condition of things in the old States. We had high hopes that his appointment would prove a most fortunate one, and that the influence which he formerly possessed in his native State would be exerted in doing all that he could to subvert the rebellion, and that the Union would be re-constructed upon the old basis of chains and slavery, and the preservation of the American System (of Slavery) is to be the grand result of this protracted and costly contest.

Whatever views Mr. Stanley entertains, we are glad to see that his only supporters are the New York Herald and the Boston Post, and their myrmidons, while, on the other hand, his outrageous course has produced great dissatisfaction among the gallant men under General Burnside, and has been made the object of an order of censure from the President and the Secretary of War. Mr. Stanley's vocation is gone, and he will soon follow.—Dedham Gazette.

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1862.

## FOURTH OF JULY!

It has been the invariable custom of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to commemorate this National Anniversary; not, however, in the boastful spirit and inflated manner of those who rejoice in a Union with Slaveholders, and who could see no contradiction, in such a Union, to the great principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776. Our celebration has ever been with the distinct and simple purpose of recalling to the mind and impressing upon the heart of the people the great "self-evident truths," that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

Confident that our repeated testimonies on these National Anniversaries have been as good seed, sown upon soil long indeed stubborn and unyielding, but at length fertilized, and now full of promise of a glorious harvest,—soon, we trust, to be gathered in,—we again invite and summon the friends of Freedom, of every name and age, and whether living within or beyond the bounds of this our honored Commonwealth, to meet with us, as aforetime, and in even greater numbers than ever before, at the beautiful and well-known FRAMINGHAM GROVE, on the ensuing Fourth of July.

We need say nothing of the beauty and many attractions of the spot, whether for adults or for the young. The day and the occasion constitute the real claims upon our attention, and to these let the Anti-Slavery men and women of Massachusetts, and of New England, respond fitly, as they so well know how to do.

The Boston and Worcester Railroad Co. will convey passengers to and from the Grove, upon their main road and its branches, on that day, at hours to be more particularly announced hereafter, and at the same reduced fares as last year, and in some instances at lower rates.

Speakers, and other particulars, to be announced in future papers.

Friends, one and all! Let us be like those who wait for their Lord, at his coming; that, whether it be at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning, we may be found ready, our lamps trimmed and burning. Now is the time for us to work with redoubled energy and zeal. The enemy everywhere is sowing tares. If possible, the very elect will be deceived. Let not one stay his hand, or hold back his testimony; but, with renewed purpose and with increased hope, do battle valiantly for God and humanity, until the dimming advocates of Slavery are driven forever out of the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof!

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,  
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,  
E. H. NEWBOLD,  
HENRY O. STONE,  
CHARLES A. ROVEY,  
Committee of Arrangements.

## PROGRESS.

The rapid succession of new and strange events in this year might satisfy even the demands of Mr. Micawber. Never before did so many things "turn up" in so short a space of time. The difficulty is that they are left to turn up as nearly in accordance with chance as the arrangements of a superintending Providence will allow; they are left, for the most part, without such direction as the faithful performance of human duties, official and individual, might give to them. The great Divine law, that sin constantly tends towards the ruin of the sinner, goes on uninterrupted, because that is independent of man's action or negligence; but, all these long dreary months of war we are missing the benefit of another great law of God, for want of fulfilling its conditions; the law, namely, that the sinner must repent and reform before he can possibly attain true welfare. God does much in our affairs, but it is His ordinance that man shall do something; and in the great housekeeping of this world, repentance and reformation are matters entirely and exclusively in man's department. God never transacts that sort of business; and the sinner who waits for Him to do it does so at his own cost and peril.

Everybody is now asking everybody—What do you think? What is the prospect? How are matters going? How shall we come out of this struggle? When shall we come out of it? These questions, as yet, can have no direct answer, only a contingent one. Our troubles will end only in proportion as we apply the right means, and in the right direction.

A wise old physician, teaching his pupils to search for the cause of the disease, in order that they might intelligently apply the means for its cure, instead of ignorantly trying various kinds of remedies in succession, for the chance of some one of them being a specific—said to them—If a man comes to you with a splinter in his finger, it is useless to give medicine, or to apply ointments and bandages. The splinter must come out. Whether anything else be necessary or not, this is the first, and the indispensable thing, because the foreign body is still there to prolong and increase the trouble it originally caused. So, if the man has a splinter in his stomach, (that is to say, if he has some foreign substance in his stomach which pains and irritates it,) the first and indispensable thing to be done is to get rid of this splinter; the cause of the trouble must come out, must be removed and abolished.

When we apply a similar course of reasoning and of action to our national troubles, we shall be in the way towards prosperity. Until then, we shall be going further and further from it. If victories would do the business, we have plenty of them. Suppose them to go on, without interruption, until the bitterness of utter and final defeat is added to that intense hatred which the South now bears towards the North. Suppose our armies able to march all over the immense extent of the rebel country without meeting an opposing army. What is to be done next? We shall be no nearer a Union than now. The United States Government will be no more respected and supported than now, in those regions; and there is no prospect of the functionalities of that Government being able to act there, except as they are sustained by a large military force in each place. To fulfil the purposes of the general Government in so many States filled with a hostile population, an army of occupation would be required, thrice as large as the army of conquest. And we should then have a permanent expense of two millions a day to provide for; we should commit the unpeakable folly of undertaking to maintain the advantages of peace with the sword, and operations of war; and we should become the laughing-stock of the civilized world, by attempting to enforce our laws against an unwilling people, assuming, at the same time, that governments derive their just powers only "from the consent of the governed." Is such a result worth its cost? Is it a good result at all? Is it worth having, even if it could be attained without cost?

Two things are needed before we can possibly have either a peace worthy the name, or that prosperity which should follow a permanent peace.

First, it is indispensable that the cause of the rebellion and the war be thoroughly removed. While slavery remains in existence in our country, it must necessarily and constantly tend to a repetition of these same troubles. He who has established, and who maintains by force, an unjust authority over his neighbor blacks, will of necessity seek to extend that authority over his neighbor whites. While that system is suffered to continue, no neighbor of his is safe. For the common safety, no less than for the common welfare, this nuisance must be abated and eradicated.

Next, it is indispensable that a loyal population occupy those Southern States, giving allegiance and support to the Federal Government, and carrying on the State government in cooperation with it. Thus only can the enormous expense and the manifold absurdity of a permanent army of occupation be avoided. The vast majority of those who have hitherto carried on the Southern State governments being utterly disloyal and hostile, how shall the peaceful population of loyalists be attained? This is the problem.

Two methods of attaining this end, or making a beginning of it, are obvious. First, the love, loyalty and hearty cooperation of four millions of the existing population there could be secured and rendered permanent by a single stroke of the President's pen. Whenever he chooses to write and publish the word LIBERTY, and direct his armies to enforce it, not only will the four millions of slaves be immediately and irrevocably united in interest with the Union, but the half million of free blacks, now scattered over the whole country, would immediately be attracted to that congenial climate. Slavery alone has caused them to flee from it. The abolition of slavery would draw them thither again.

By all the laws and usages of civilized nations, rebels against a government forfeit their property, as well as their other rights and privileges, under it. The lands formerly occupied by the rebels, the cotton, rice, and sugar plantations, the wheat and tobacco fields, the turpentine forests, are now without owners, and are within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. They are not only without owners, but the persons who ought to own them, the laborers by whose toil all their products have been raised, are the very persons who are now to be attracted or repelled by the action of this Government in relation to them. The assignment of a large portion of these lands to the laborers who have hitherto tilled them, and to such free people of color as now exist there, or may choose to settle there, would have the following very great advantages.

It would be the natural, normal, just, appropriate retribution for the rebellion, and for the war made in support of it. It would be the wisest treatment of the existing rebels, and the greatest possible discouragement to any who might contemplate such a movement in future.

It would be just to those laborers who have hitherto sowed and reaped under compulsion, and who have been systematically robbed of the harvest, by complicity of the very Government whose remedial action is now in question. That Government certainly owes this retribution, both to them and to the free people of color, whom it has helped to keep under various unjust limitations and disabilities.

It would be the very most effective step towards a permanent restoration of the United States authority in the Southern States, fixing there a loyal population, and inspiring them with the strongest motives to uphold the national Government.

It would be the most thorough security possible against a renewal of the cause of the rebellion.

The second of the two methods of providing a loyal population for the South—a method no less recommended by justice and expediency than the first, and in every way suited to accomplish both the immediate and the ultimate purposes which the Government should have in view—is the allotment of another portion of those Southern lands, first to such soldiers regularly discharged from the army, and next, to such other Northern men, as may wish to settle there.

Many of our people who prefer the soil and climate of the South, but who have been prevented from living there by the manifold evils of slavery, would now be glad to try the experiment under a new order of things. Their residence there would be not only the best of supports to the Government in its approaching trial, but would introduce the customs of civilized life into that barbarous region, commence a system of common school education, improve agriculture, establish manufactures, cause labor to be respected, and give a new impulse to art and science of every sort. And, if these new-comers choose to establish just and friendly relations towards the existing colored population, each might be an unspeakable benefit to the other, and both could secure themselves and the Government against further trouble from the ex-slaveholders.

If the Administration is not ready to arrange for measures so needful as these, why should not the people call for them, urge them, and offer their cooperation in executing them?—C. K. W.

## "RELIGIOUS" HINDRANCES TO REFORM.

The *Reformed Presbyterian*, (Pittsburgh, Pa.) in an excellent article on "Reformatory Agencies," admits that the religious press is far behind the secular press in criticisms of vicious action on the part of the Government, and condemns silence in regard to such action as tacit approval and encouragement of it. After saying that associations for moral and religious objects ought to be, much more extensively than they are, agencies of reform, it speaks thus of the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society:

"The avowed design of the first of these is to put the Bible into the hand of every person who can read it. The object is a grand one, and it cannot be denied that the Society was well sustained in its efforts to accomplish it. But while this was the main end of the Society, it was bound to wield its great power in advancing other collateral interests. For instance, as the Bible teaches men their mutual obligations, it should not have been withheld from those who were denied that liberty which is the common inheritance of all. It is no apology to say that they could not read it, for this was not universally true, and, besides, it was not the reason assigned for refusing to make donations of Bibles to the slaves. The reason given was, that by the laws of slaveholding States, slaves were not allowed to read the Bible, and the Society would not interfere with, or seem to oppose civil enactments. In thus yielding to an unjust and cruel exercise of power, the Society shut itself out from the attention to the degrading against an interference with it by the civil authorities, in accomplishing its noble undertaking of giving the Bible to all. Nothing short of physical resistance could justify the shutting out of the Bible from the hands of the colored people, the comprehensive object of the Society's organization."

And now, when this difficulty is in part removed, what is the Society doing in this matter? Before we press with this number, the anniversary will be held, and we will like to hear of the good that our readers some information on this subject. If the Society shall continue to pursue its policy of refusing slaves, or those who were slaves, the Bible, the fact must be known, that the Society will take, as it were, those so unkindly overlooked. If, on the other hand, the Society put their hand to this great work and prosecute it with the energy that the interference with it by the civil authorities, in accomplishing its noble undertaking of giving the Bible to all. Nothing short of physical resistance could justify the shutting out of the Bible from the hands of the colored people, the comprehensive object of the Society's organization."

"T. What other reason can you give for believing that your deceased friends are with you still?"

S. I feel that it is so, and this is the best and truest reason. *Cicero believed that the souls of men were immortal, because he felt that they were.*—*Ac.*, 8.—p. 42.

The italics of the learned quotation are ours.—W. F. G.

NEW MUSIC. The following pieces have just been issued by Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington street, Boston:—

In Memoriam: His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. Elegy for the Pianoforte, by Brinley Richards. *Junonia Quadrille*. On popular airs, by P. Laroche. *The Doctor of Alcantara*. Opera bouffe. Libretto by Benj. E. Wolff. Music by Julius Eichberg.

*Alcantara Quadrille*. Composed for the piano by Robert Bell. *Bellona March*. Composed by J. C. Kremky. *The Leaving of the Old Home*. Song. Words by J. E. Carpenter. Music by C. W. Glover.

*Rest! Where shall we Rest!* Song. Composed by E. Silas.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE EXCHANGE: A Home and Colonial Monthly Review of Commerce, Manufactures and General Politics. London: Sampson Low, Son & Co., 47 Ludgate Hill. May: No. 2.

The object of this new magazine, we are informed in the prospectus, is to supply the British public with a periodical corresponding to the *Journal des Economistes* in France, and to *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and De Bow's Review* in this country, and occupying a middle place between the *Economist* and the *Times*. That it meets a very sensible want may be inferred from the fact that the first number has reached a second edition. The contents of the number before us are as follows:—Ships in Armor; Our Colonial Empire,—Colonial Emancipation; Co-operative Associations; and the Christian Socialists; Federal Finance; Exhibitions of Industry, National and International; Mexico and the Intervention (continued); Legal Securities for English Settlers and Capital in Bengal (continued); The Budget and the Income Tax; The Finances of France; The Import Trade of 1860 and 1861; English and Foreign Literature; Money, Banking and Shares; English and Scotch Metals and Metal Manufactures; Textiles and Textile Manufactures; Corn, Provision, and Foreign and Colonial Produce, &c.

For sale in New York by Walter Low, 59 Walker street, and 823 Broadway; in Boston, by Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington street.

CONCORD FIGHT. By S. R. Bartlett. Second edition. Concord: Albert Sney. 1862. pp. 24.

A pleasant little poem to embody the memories of the scenes and the actors in the inaugural conflict of the revolution. Elegantly printed, and embellished with a frontispiece of the battle-ground.

For sale by Crosby, Nichols & Co.

SPIRITUAL SUNDAY SCHOOL CLASS-BOOK. No. 1. Boston: William White & Co., Publishers of the *Banner of Light*, 158 Washington St. 1862. pp. 54.

The chief point of difference between this work and others of a similar design, would appear to be the inculcation of the fundamental ideas of modern spiritualism, viz., the existence, proximity and communication of the departed. For the rest, the introduction seems to us quite too elevated in style for the "little children" to whom it is addressed; and perhaps the objection may extend even farther. A few extracts will suffice to show the spirit and the tact with which the book is put together:—

"Teacher. Is it your duty to resist evil?"

Scholar. No; it is my duty to avoid it, not resist it, for if I resist it, I take part in what I resist: I come nearer to it."

T. Is it your duty to accuse others of their wickedness?"

S. No; it is my duty to see to my own wickedness, to lessen and avoid it. This will take all my time."

T. Is it your duty to talk to others and try to make them act right?"

S. No; for I am not certain that I act right myself. But if I do right always, my deeds will have a better influence upon others than my words."—p. 9.

The foregoing, as a specimen of practical morality; the following, as indicative of theological orthodoxy:—

T. What do you think of the Ten Commandments given by Moses in the twentieth chapter of Exodus?"

S. I think that they are good; but the commands of Christ are better.

T. Must you keep the commands of Moses before you can keep the commands of Christ?"

S. Yes; the commands of Moses were made for men when they knew less, and the commands of Christ were made for men when they shall know more about the spiritual world."—pp. 20, 21.

Lastly, to see the naturalness of the conversation, take the annexed from the mouth of a "little child":—

T. What other reason can you give for believing that your deceased friends are with you still?"

S. I feel that it is so, and this is the best and truest reason. *Cicero believed that the souls of men were immortal, because he felt that they were.*—*Ac.*, 8.—p. 42.

The italics of the learned quotation are ours.—W. F. G.

NEW MUSIC. The following pieces have just been issued by Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington street, Boston:—

In Memoriam: His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. Elegy for the Pianoforte, by Brinley Richards. *Junonia Quadrille*. On popular airs, by P. Laroche. *The Doctor of Alcantara*. Opera bouffe. Libretto by Benj. E. Wolff. Music by Julius Eichberg.

*Alcantara Quadrille*. Composed for the piano by Robert Bell. *Bellona March*. Composed by J. C. Kremky. *The Leaving of the Old Home*. Song. Words by J. E. Carpenter. Music by C. W. Glover.

*Rest! Where shall we Rest!* Song. Composed by E. Silas.

## CHANGES.

The tone of the press concerning slavery is undergoing a marked change. The truths concerning it which the slaveholders themselves have forced upon our attention, are fast bringing forth fruit; and we now see in many papers such facts and such reflections as the following from the *Transcript* of the 2d inst. The peculiar institution is doomed:—

"A NOTEWORTHY ANNIVERSARY. Eight years ago to-day, Anthony Burns was delivered to his master Boston was the scene of great excitement on the occasion, and thousands of strangers flocked to the city to witness the novel spectacle of marshalling the power of the United States to return one fugitive to slavery. We recur to the affair merely to show the changes which a few years have produced. Burns had been a long time in bondage. Many of the military, who were ordered out to prevent his rescue by the populace, are now in Southern States, the masters of slave masters."

## LETTER TO HON. JACOB COLLAMER.

HON. JACOB COLLAMER, Washington, D. C.

SIR,—I am one of the humblest of your constituents, with little influence at home, and less abroad; and might feel a perfect indifference to passing events, as I am on the down-hill side of fourscore, and not a drop of my blood is coursing in the veins of my living being. But, sir, notwithstanding all this, many of the events of the past few months have alternately raised my blood to fever heat, and again sunk it to the freezing point. When I have witnessed the loss of a very few to remove the cause of our national calamities, I could but bid them God-speed, and pray for their success. When I have witnessed a disposition of the majority to retain, nay, worse, to cherish the cause, and only remove the effect, my blood is chilled and I am almost ready to despair of ever witnessing the extinction of slavery, and the dawn of universal peace and reign of righteousness, sure to follow.

I have read your remarks on the Confession Bill, as copied into the *Tribune* of the 3d with painful interest. You say, "The Republican party pointed themselves out to interfere with slavery in the States; but if it is possible to free a large portion of the slaves, can they make the world believe they have not interfered with slavery in the States?" With all the deference to your high position as a Senator of the United States, and your still higher position as a Senator of the United States, in this nation of thirty-four millions, now bleeding at every pore, bound by the pledges of a few scores of timid politicians, as heartless as the cause, and only remove the effect, my blood is chilled and I am almost ready to despair of ever witnessing the extinction of slavery, and the dawn of universal peace







## Poetry.

From the Vermont.

JACK SCROGGINS.

On Maryland's proud soil,  
Where the negro's lot is told,  
And the master lolls at leisure, lived a man;  
His face perished as black,  
And seemed with scars his back,  
Tut his soul was stirred with vision of the great and grand.  
He had heard the welcome cry,  
"Union and Liberty!"

And that the army of the North brought freedom to the slave;

He knew where traitors hid  
Their implements of blood,  
And bravely risked his life to carry tidings to the brave.

In the dark and dreary night,  
Guided by the North Star's light,  
He wends his weary footsteps through the dismal Southern swamp;

With wand'ring long and dreary,  
With body worn and weary,  
Just as the day-light dawned, reached the Northern army's camp.

"I can tell—though oft forbidden—  
Where the rebels' guns are hidden,  
And to see your brave commander, I have come this dreary night."

So with mingled meers and blessings,  
And with many Yankee greetings,  
The loyal slave was taken to the tent of Col. Dwight.

Oh, many a soldier's life  
Was saved in battle strife,  
By the tidings that Jack Scroggins had risked his life to tell;

But no recompense or station,  
Or even commendation,  
Rewarded the brave fugitive who earned them all so well!

But the master claimed the man,  
And—believe it ye who can—  
This loyal slave was given up to a rebel black as night!

To strife and torture back  
The traitor dragged poor Jack,  
And with horrid blows and beatings cursed the hours till morning light!

The rise and set of day  
Witnessed horrid agony;  
Unpitied and alone, the noble slave was lying;

And when the sun went down,  
And the cheerless night came on,  
On the cold and bloody ground the martyr bold was dying.

Dying for liberty—  
Dying from treachery—  
In this our boasted land of light, was murderously dying!

How long, O Lord, how long  
The weak yield to the strong?  
How long shall brother's blood from the ground in vain be crying?

My fathers' God, I pray,  
Take my bitter heart away,  
And give a trusting spirit that unceasingly can pray;

Let not the curse of blood  
Sweep o'er us like a flood,  
But purify, Father, and remove blood-guiltiness away.

Weybridge, Vt. JAMES RUDEN.

From the Christian Inquirer.

SONG OF THE CONTRABAND.

BY J. C. HAGEN.

VERSE—"The Brass of Balguthier."

Let us sing, brothers, sing,  
But no longer in sadness!  
Let the old cabin ring  
With the shouts of our gladness!

Our bondage is o'er,  
To return again never;  
We are chattels no more—  
We are freemen forever!

The glad tidings we hear  
Shall silence our grieving;  
The glad tidings from far  
The crushed spirit relieving;

And it thrills through our hearts,  
Like a song of salvation,  
On the white cotton-field  
And the sugar plantation.

When our enemies sneer,  
In their pride to conceal it,  
Oh! how little they thought  
That their fears would reveal it!

And our hearts danced with glee,  
Round our hearthstones assembled;  
For we knew we were free  
When our task-masters trembled!

Praise to God! praise to God!  
For the word that was spoken;  
Twas by him that the rod  
Of the smiter was broken.

He has answered the prayer  
Of the poor and forsaken;  
To his sheltering care  
The oppressed he has taken.

Oh! how gladly we'll tell  
When the lash does not drive us;  
Of the fruits of the soil  
That no more can deprive us;

When husband and wife  
Can no longer be parted,  
Or robbed of their dear ones,  
To die broken-hearted!

Then we'll sing, brothers, sing,  
But no longer in sadness;  
Let the old cabin ring  
With the songs of our gladness!

Praise to God! praise to God!  
For 'tis he who has done it;  
Praise to him! praise to him!  
For his mercy has won it.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

TO JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Then leaped at supper on his breast  
One whom he loved, and his confessed,  
"He loves not me, but him, the best."

And still, in later days, around  
The board his chosen few are found;  
Sage, Hero, Post-laurel-crowned.

But one upon his bosom lies,  
John the Beloved; his kindly eyes  
Waiting the Master's low replies.

—Oh, Poet of the Poor, the Oppressed,  
Nearest to Jesus' pitying breast,  
He loves not me, but thee, the best!

So, more than unto all the Elders,  
His pitying gaze to thee has given  
To open for them the gate of heaven.

Oh, Hero-band, among thy peers  
God-chosen through these stormy years,  
To bear His Ark, alight with tears—

When Africa, so bruited now,  
Among the nations lifts her brow,  
Washed clean as infancy—and thou,

Still lingering on these earthly banks,  
Shalt raise thine eyes and give God thanks,  
No name along the shining ranks

Of Quiberon's God's place around,  
Shall louder swell or warbler sound,  
As weighed, and yet not wanting found,

Than thine! Then live on, blessing, blest!  
John the Beloved! Jesus' least  
Ne'er pillowed nobler, worthier guest.

Fitchburg, Mass. C. A. M.

## The Liberator.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

Delivered at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention,  
Wednesday, May 28th, 1862.

MR. PRESIDENT.—Of the great family of man, the Negro has, during the last half century, been more prominently before the world than any other race.

He did not seek this notoriety. Isolated away in his own land, he would have remained there, had it not been for the avarice of other races, who sought him out as a victim of slavery.

Two and a half centuries of the negro's enslavement have created, in many minds, the opinion that he is intellectually inferior to the rest of mankind;—and now that the blacks seem in a fair way to get their freedom in this country, it has been asserted, and from high authority in the Government, that the natural inferiority of the negro makes it impossible for him to live on this continent with the white man, unless in a state of bondage.

Mr. Postmaster-General Blair, in his letter to the Union Mass Meeting, held at the Cooper Institute, New York, in March last, takes this ground. The Boston Post and Courier both take the same position.

I admit that the condition of my race, whether considered in a mental, moral or intellectual point of view, at the present time, cannot compare favorably with the Anglo-Saxon. But it does not become the whites to point the finger of scorn at the blacks, when they have so long been degrading them. The negro has not always been considered the inferior race. The time was when he stood at the head of science and literature. Let us see. I claim that the blacks are the legitimate descendants of the Egyptians.

Nearly all historians agree that the Egyptians were black. Volney assumes it as a settled point. Herodotus, who travelled extensively through that interesting land, set them down as black, with curled hair, and having the negro features. The sacred writers were aware of their complexion—hence the question, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?" The image of the negro is engraved upon the monuments of Egypt—not as a bondman, but as the master of art.

The Sphinx, one of the wonders of the world, surviving the wreck of centuries, exhibits these same features at the present day. Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom, was supposed to have been an African princess. Atlas, whose shoulders sustained the globe, and even the great Jupiter Ammon himself, were located by the mythologists in Africa. Though there may not be much in these fables, they teach us, nevertheless, who were then considered the nobles of the human race. Euclid, Homer and Plato were Ethiopians. Terence, the most refined and accomplished scholar of his time, was of the same race. Hanno, the father of Hamilitar, and grandfather of Hannibal, was a negro. Alexander H. Everett, the ablest writer of his day upon this question, took the ground that I do. These are the antecedents of the enslaved blacks on this continent.

From whence sprang the Anglo-Saxon? For, mark you, it is he that denies the equality of the negro.

"When the Britons first became known to the Tyrian mariners," says Macaulay, "they were little superior to the Sandwich Islanders." Hume says they were a rude and barbarous people, divided into numerous tribes, dressed in the skins of wild beasts. Druidism was their religion, and they were very superstitious. Such is the first account we have of the Britons. When the Romans invaded that country, they reduced the people to a state of vassalage as degrading as that of slavery in the Southern States. Their king, Caractacus, was captured and sent a slave to Rome. Still later, Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon generals, presented another yoke which the Britons were compelled to wear. But the last drops of the bitter cup of humiliation were drunk when William of Normandy met Harold at Hastings, and with a single blow, completely annihilated the nationality of the Britons. Thousands of the conquered people were then sent to the slave markets of Rome, where they were sold very cheap, on account of their inaptitude to learn. This is not very flattering, Mr. President, to your ancestors, but it is just. (Laughter and applause.)

Cæsar, in writing home, said of the Britons, "They are the most ignorant people I ever conquered. They cannot be taught music." Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, advised him not to buy slaves from England, "because," said he, "they cannot be taught to read, and are the ugliest and most stupid race I ever saw." I am sorry that Montgomery Blair came from such a low origin; but he is not to blame. I only find fault with him for making mouths at me. (Loud applause.)

"You should not the ignorant negro despise,"—  
Just such your sires appeared in Cæsar's eyes."

The Britons lost their nationality because they were amalgamated with the Romans, Saxons and Normans, and out of this conglomeration sprang the proud Anglo-Saxon of to-day. I once stood upon the walls of an English city, built by enslaved Britons when Julius Cæsar was their master. The image of the ancestors of Montgomery Blair, as represented in Britain, was carved upon the monuments of Rome, where they may still be seen in their chains. Ancestry is something which the white American should not speak of, unless with his lips to the dust.

"Nothing," says Macaulay, "in the early existence of Britain, indicated the greatness which was destined to attain." Britain has risen, while proud Rome, once the mistress of the world, has fallen; but the image of the early Englishman in his chains, as carved twenty centuries ago, is still to be seen upon her broken monuments. So has Egypt fallen; and her sable sons and daughters have been scattered into nearly every land where the white man has introduced slavery and disgraced the soil with his foot-print. As I gazed upon the beautiful and classic obelisk of Luxor, removed from Thebes, where it had stood 4000 years, and transplanted to the Place de la Concorde, at Paris, and contemplated its hieroglyphic inscription of the noble dwarf of Sesostris, the African general, who drew kings at his chariot-wheels, and left monumental inscriptions from Ethiopia to India, I felt proud of my antecedents,—proud of the glorious past, which no amount of hate and prejudice could wipe from history's page, while I had to mourn over the fall and the degradation of my race. But I do not despair; for the negro has that intellectual genius which God has planted in the mind of man, that distinguishes him from the rest of creation, and which needs only cultivation to make it bring forth fruit. No nation has ever been found, which, by its own unaided efforts, has shown powerful inward impulse, has arisen from barbarism and degradation to civilization and respectability. There is nothing in race or blood, in color or features, that imparts susceptibility of improvement to one race over another. The mind left to itself from infancy, without culture, remains a blank. Knowledge is not innate. Development makes the man. As the Greeks and Romans and Jews drew knowledge from the Egyptians three thousand years ago, and the Europeans received it from the Romans, so must the blacks of this land rise in the same way. As one man learns from another, so nations learn from nations. Civilization is handed from one people to another, its great fountain and source being God our Father. No one, in the days of Cicero and Tacitus, could have predicted that the barbarism and savage wildness of the Germans would give place to the learning, refinement and culture which that people now exhibit. Already the blacks on this continent, though kept down under the heel of the white man, are fast rising in the scale of intellectual development, and proving their equality with the brotherhood of man.

In his address before the Colonization Society at Washington, on the 18th of Jan., 1853, Hon. Edward Everett said:—

"When I lived in Cambridge, a few years ago, I used to attend, as one of the Board of Visitors, the examinations of a classical school, in which was a colored boy, the son of a slave in Mississippi. I think he appeared to me to be of pure African blood. There were at the same time two youths from Georgia,

and one of my own sons, attending the same school. I must say that this poor negro boy, Beverly Williams, was one of the best scholars at the school, and in the Latin language he was the best scholar in his class. There are others, I am told, which show still more conclusively the aptitude of the colored race for every kind of intellectual culture."

Mr. Everett cited several other instances which had fallen under his notice, and utterly scouted the idea that there was any general inferiority of the African race. He said, "They have done as well as persons of European or Anglo-American origin would have done, after three thousand years of similar depression and hardship. The question has been asked, 'Does not the negro labor under some incurable, natural inferiority?' In this, for myself, I have no belief."

I think, Mr. President, that is ample refutation of the charge of inferiority, as brought by Mr. Blair, against the blacks.

There is another point connected with the cause of negro emancipation in this country that I must speak of, and that is the asserted incapability of the slave to take care of himself in a state of freedom. This charge is entirely and forever refuted by the history of the West Indies, since the abolition of slavery in those islands. We have heard a great deal about the "ruin of Jamaica"; and such journals as the Boston Courier, the Boston Post, and the New York Journal of Commerce, lose no opportunity to parade this falsehood in their columns, to prove that the same fate awaits the Southern States, if emancipation shall take place. As to the British Colonies, the fact is well established that slavery had impoverished the soil, demoralized the people, and free, brought the planters to a state of bankruptcy, and all the islands to ruin, long before Parliament had passed the Act of Emancipation. All the Colonies, including Jamaica, had petitioned the home government for assistance, ten years prior to the liberation of their slaves. It is a noticeable fact that the free blacks were the least embarrassed, in a pecuniary point of view, and that they appeared in more comfortable circumstances than the whites. There was a large proportion of free blacks in each of the Colonies;—Jamaica alone having 55,000 before the day of emancipation. A large majority of the West India estates were owned by persons residing in Europe, and who had never seen the Colonies. These plantations were carried on by agents, overseers and clerks, whose mismanagement, together with the blighting influence which chattel slavery takes with it wherever it goes, brought the islands under impending ruin, and many of the estates were mortgaged in Europe for more than their value. One man alone, Neil Malcolm, of London, had forty plantations to fall upon his hands for money advanced on them before the abolition of slavery. These European proprietors, despairing of getting any returns from the West Indies, gladly pocketed their share of the twenty millions pounds sterling, which the home government gave them, and abandoned their estates to their ruin. Other proprietors residing in the Colonies, formed combinations to make the emancipated people labor for scarcely enough to purchase food for them. If found idle, the tread-wheel, the chain-gang, the dungeon, with black bread, and water from the most, and other modes of legalized torture, were inflicted upon the negroes. Through the determined and combined efforts of the land-owners, the condition of the freed people was as bad, if not worse, for the first three years after their liberation, than it was before. Never was an experiment more severely tested than that of emancipation in the West Indies. Nevertheless, the principles of freedom triumphed; not a drop of blood was shed by the enfranchised blacks; the Colonies have arisen from the blight which they labored under in the time of slavery, the land has increased in value, and above all, that which is more valuable than cotton, sugar, or rice, the moral and intellectual condition of both blacks and whites is in a better state now, than ever before. (Applause.)

Sir William Colebrooke, Governor of Antigua, said, six years after the islands were freed, "At the lowest computation, the land, without a single slave upon it, is fully as valuable now, as it was, including all the slaves, before emancipation." In a report made to the British Parliament, in 1860, it was stated that three-fifths of the cultivated land of Jamaica was the bona fide property of the blacks. The land is in a better state of cultivation now, than it was while slavery existed, and both imports and exports show a great increase. Everything demonstrates that emancipation in the West India Islands has resulted in the most satisfactory manner, and fulfilled the expectation of the friends of freedom throughout the world. (Applause.)

I now turn from the islands of the sea to our own land. If any proof were wanted of the capacity of the blacks to take care of themselves, it could be found without leaving these shores. The majority of the colored people in the Northern States, descended from slaves: many of them were slaves themselves. In education, in morals, and in the development of mechanical genius, the free blacks of the United States will compare favorably with any laboring class in the world. And considering the fact that we have been shut out, by a cruel prejudice, from nearly all the mechanical branches, and all the professions, it is marvellous that we have attained the position we now occupy. Notwithstanding these bars, our young men have learned trades, become artists, gone into the professions, although bitter prejudice may prevent their having a great deal of practice. When it is considered that they have mostly come out of bondage, and that their calling has been the lowest kind in every community, it is still more strange that the colored people have amassed so much wealth in every State in the Union. If this is not an exhibition of capacity, I don't understand the meaning of the term.

The Boston Post says, "Free the slaves, and your poor-houses will be filled with them." A refutation of that slander may be found in the prosperous condition of the two hundred thousand free blacks in the slave States, who have not been induced to leave the congenial climate of the South for no advantage which they could have derived by the change. Though never allowed to send their children, and though shut out from all school privileges, the free colored people of the South have educated themselves, and by their industry, sobriety, and good behavior, have gained the respect, esteem and good wishes of all impartial friends of humanity who have travelled through that section of the country. The editor of the New Orleans True Delta says—"The free colored people here are honorable in their intercourse with society, and in good deportment cannot be surpassed by any equal number of persons in any place, North or South." The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia has developed the fact, that the largest number of property-holders in the Federal Capital are colored, and that they own church property amounting to more than \$100,000. I commend these facts to the editor of the Boston Post, and would suggest that he take a few lessons from Dr. South-Side Adams, who says, that while in South Carolina, a prosecuting officer stated to him, that out of two thousand indictments made out in six years, only twelve were against colored persons; and yet the majority of the inhabitants of that State are colored. The Boston Courier thinks that the natural inferiority of the negro makes it impossible for the two races to live together, without the inferior race being slaves. Now, as I have elsewhere shown the low origin of the Anglo-Saxon, and as the whites of the South have not exhibited any superiority over the blacks, I would suggest, that if we must have an enslaved race, that the slaveholders try it awhile. If patriotism and devotion to the cause of freedom be tested of loyalty, and should establish one's claim to all the privileges that the government can confer, then surely the black man can demand his rights with a good grace. From the fall of Attila, the first martyr of the American Revolution in 1770, down to the present day, the colored people have shown themselves worthy of any confidence that the nation can place in its citizens in the time that tries men's souls. At the battle of Bunker Hill, on the heights of Groton, at the ever-memorable battle of

Red Bank, the sable sons of our country stood side by side with their white brethren. On lakes Erie and Champlain, on the Hudson, and down in the valley of the Mississippi, they established their valor and their invincibility. Whenever the rights of the nation have been assailed, the negro has always responded to his country's call, and with every pulsation of his heart beating for freedom. And yet the editors of the Boston Post and the Boston Courier would have us driven from the land of our birth. If these two gentlemen wish to show their patriotism, and are really desirous of doing their country a lasting service, and at the same time to immortalize their names, let them take themselves off to Lapland, or some other land, and give bonds not to disgrace America by their presence again. (Laughter and applause.)

There is a class who have done our country more injury, both in the United States and in Europe, than we can possibly imagine. I refer to those Union-speak, speakers and writers, who say one word in favor of the Constitution and the Union, and ten against the negro and his friends. We have lately been disgraced abroad by one of this class, a Mr. Geo. Francis Train, who, on arriving in London, made several flaming speeches against the rebels and in favor of the Federal Government, by which he secured the ear and sympathy of the British people, and then showed his cloven foot by attacking and libelling the colored people of America, and the Abolitionists generally. These speeches have been extensively circulated here in pamphlet form among the laboring classes, for the express purpose of prejudicing their minds against the slaves' liberation, asserting his inferiority and incapability of taking care of himself if freed. A harlequin without genius, a railroad builder without originality, an upstart with only the merit of audacity and love of falsehood, Mr. Train's speeches are of the lowest possible order, and calculated to suit the ignorant and the unsuspecting. His assertion that the slaves cling to their masters on account of their attachment, called forth laughter and derision from the audience, while his claim that slavery Christianized, educated and refined the negro, brought down a volley of hisses from all parts of the hall. Finding, from the state of feeling of the audience, that he had missed his aim, he changed his tune before the conclusion of his first speech, and promised that he would give them his plan of emancipation on the following evening; and here it is, as taken from his second address:—

"Let the States pass a law, under the guidance of the Constitution, compelling the planter, as a slight tax upon his treason, to give the slave his own labor one day in the week to work out his own freedom; his price fixed at a fair value, and arranged under guarantees that the slave shall have that day as well as purchase the right of the property."

At the conclusion of his last speech, Mr. Train received a severe and well-merited castigation from J. Passmore Edwards, Esq., who said in his remarks—"While holding your country's banner high against Secession, I applauded you, but I feel that it is a disgrace to America to hear her Union champion advocating negro slavery." The idea of freeing the country from slavery, by allowing the slave one day in each week by which to earn the means of purchasing his freedom, and that the able-bodied should be compelled to buy the liberty of the old, the halt and the blind, is ridiculous in the extreme. Upon such a plan, no man could work out his freedom in a life-time. Mr. Train exhibited his mendacity still more in his attempt to prove the inferiority of the blacks. His dealing with the different races of men created considerable merriment for the Londoners, who set him down as a mountebank.

Such men as this Train, the editors of the New York Herald, the Boston Post, and the Boston Courier, have done great injury to the cause of liberty and the Union. (Applause.) If hatred to justice, humanity and the negro race should entitle one to the highest seat in the lowest kingdom, I am sure that the editors of the Post and the Courier will be amply provided for in the warmest corner of the lowest pit, in the world to come. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

## ULTRAISTS.

Truth is always ultra and extreme to ignorant and darkened minds. The lover of freedom is the so-called extremist or ultraist of the day. By an ultraist is understood one who forces, as it were, his fundamental idea upon the world. He has a fixed principle, around which he revolves, and all the radiations from that centre partake of the central idea.

The majority of mankind are conservative, or middle-men—politicians. They buy of the producer and sell to the retailer. They occupy this middle-ground—a position of mischief-making. They consider themselves of great use in the market and the world. They are always ready for some form of compromise, and will lean to either side for small favors. The sun in yonder sky shines for the purpose of sending through all the world the great principle of life. A great life force emanates from its rays. Truth, like a central orb, sends forth its wonder-working powers, and the life of humanity rises to its high and holy purpose, according to its reception.

From all minds filled with the idea of liberty, much good must result. The rabble cry, "Crazy fanatic!" but what harm ensues? In the extensive fields of science and art—in that broad expanse for mental rambling, how many extreme and ultra minds you find rushing off in some wild freak, in pursuit of one leading idea or principle. Instantly is heard the cry, "He is insane!" But years roll on, and science advances with rapid strides, and suddenly the very law discovered by this so-called insane mind, is found true and exact, of great and vital importance.

Religion, Politics and Science all have these ultra followers and students. The founders of the Christianity of Jesus Christ were of this type. They stood up manfully against the bitter mockery of the conservative crowd. Crucifixion and death had no dread. They boldly proclaimed the truth, because they knew that the glorious revelations they beheld were for the eternal good of humanity. An extreme view of certain political principles is hoisted against the ignorant crowd cry out, "Crucify it!" "Crucify it!"

Humanity, in its sound life, when all the functions of its organism are in a healthy and perfect order, discovers no such men as ultraists. The bold enunciation of the idea of freedom is not ultra: he stands firm on the living principle of truth. The world may shout, "Put him down! put him down!" but though an earthquake should engulf the world, the truth and divine order of liberty to all would be still living.

The fire-eater of South Carolina is called an extremist or ultraist. No, he believes in human bondage,—that slavery is of God,—and, as such, he rallies to its support. His belief is, to him, true. He endeavors to extend the powers of his God-bestowed gift of slavery over the world; but when he does so, he strikes against the eternal Rock of Freedom. The middle class—the poor conservative politician—is to be pitied. He expects to reap some fat office, to be the recipient of some evanescent good. He is neutral; he is neither warm nor cold; and the edict in reference to lukewarm persons has already gone forth.

Abolition—how it jars and grates on the ears of slavery-loving men. They despise the word; they cannot bear the destruction of their golden calf; they hurt their unhealthy arguments against the man who favors freedom—who boldly says he represents the idea of liberty in its proudest and noblest aspects, when he declares there is no union between slavery and

freedom, and cannot be; when he is in favor of a Union founded in truth, and when he says that, for such a Union as these base middle-men would patch up, by compromise and concession, he has no love. Why is it that such men are despised and scorned? Why is it that such men are not listened to? And why is it that the reason of men leave them, and mental blindness so fatally seals their perception, when the truth is proclaimed by such lovers of God and freedom?

Shame! shame! that an American citizen should believe in the principle of slavery! Shame, that the pure of our country should float over the Goddess of Liberty, at whose feet a slave is kneeling, not asking for liberty, but protesting in slavery by the power of the stars and stripes! How absurd the picture; how conflicting the emblems.

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." This motto, inscribed on the old bell, once in the tower of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, is not an ultra motto. It is the grand and eternal idea of God; and as the tone of harmony sounded over the land, what a corresponding type of the harmonious echo in the hearts of all free men—the happy union of free thought in a free body.

May the harmony of freedom swell in pealing tones of thunder over this fair and goodly land, in years not far distant.

I. L. WADE, M. D.

## CIVIL RULE IN NORTH CAROLINA.

THE COLORED SCHOOLS BROKEN UP.

Slaves Sent Back—Contumacious Among the Fugitives—The Slaveholders' Exultant—Indignation of the Officers and Soldiers—H. H. Helper Expatriated—Four Hundred More Released Prisoners on their Way to New York.

[Correspondence of the New York Times.]

NEWBERN, N. C., Saturday, May 31, 1862. The experiment of placing the colored people of North Carolina under the rule of the new Governor. The first acts in the drama have the virtue of being intelligible, and pleasing at least to one class of people. As usual, in all attempts to soothe Southern wrath, the negro is thrown in as the offering.

The schools established by Mr. Colver for the instruction of the colored people were suddenly closed on Wednesday evening. It was the first administrative act of the new Governor, since whose advent the military authority seems, to a great extent, superseding the civil.

Hearing that this was to be done, I went early to the Methodist Church on Hancock street, where one of the colored schools is held. Very few had, as yet, arrived. Sitting at a side door, I observed an old couple of about sixty years of age, each of whom held a little primer, in hand, into which they were intently peering, and by the aid of the dim twilight were endeavoring to master their first lesson in letters. Approaching them, I asked, "How do you get along with your book?" "O, master, we are trying right hard, but you know how it is," said the old man. "No, but we want to learn more, we do so to eat a good dinner when we are hungry; we want to learn so that we can read de Word of God," said the man.

In a few minutes the pupils began to come in. They came—young, old and middle-aged, male and female—and quietly took seats, filling the hall, and the galleries, and numbering five or six hundred. In front of the altar were sixteen bright and wakeful little boys of from eight to twelve years, ranged on two benches, and confronting the lesson of the evening, which had been written upon a sheet in large letters, and hung over the pulpit:—

"Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you."—Matt. 5th ch.

When all had become seated, Mr. Colver gave out the Sabbath school hymn:—

"Joyfully, joyfully, onward we move," which was sung with earnest pathos by the whole congregation.

During the prayer, when incidental reference was made to the closing of the school, a sob was heard in all parts of the house. That single sentence dashed all hopes, and sent a pang to every heart. The superintendent remarked that during the six weeks the schools had been opened, no disorder had occurred, and not the slightest complaint had been made by the authorities. The schools had been uniformly closed before the hour of guard-mounting, though by this course they had been obliged to assemble at an inconvenient hour, leaving their work at the fortification and on the bridge frequently unfinished, under the expectation that a more early opening would be made.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school. They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order to be early at the school.

They had made rapid progress, over one hundred, only a few days since, having been selected as teachers, who could read with facility, and the remainder were able, after a few minutes' instruction, to read the common lesson. He alluded to the fact that three or four hundred of them had been engaged upon their primers, in order